26: Brüning--59-60 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 301, 237, 777

The Indians, while wearing very simple clothes, have a great variety of ornaments, especially the men. In contrast to [60] the cultural life of other countries, it is the Indian male that devotes more time to the adornment of his exterior than the Indian woman. The woman does not have the time for it: she is the working part. I believe that I may divide the ornaments into two categories: the ornaments used in everyday life, and ornaments used in connection with festive occasions only.

Into the first category we may place the bracelets made of the skin of the iguana lizard. The natives cut the skin crosswise so that they obtain rings that are closed and about two centimeters wide. When wetted the skin may be stretched and easily slipped over the hand. Upon drying the bracelet shrinks and cannot slip off the arm. Men and women wear several of these bracelets around the wrist. Even the rubber collectors who live among the Indians wear these bracelets. These bracelets are said to prevent the wearer from becoming tired while working.

/331 cont./

extends from the chest to about the knees, is held by a band around the hips, but is measured so closely and fits so tightly that at every step the leg stands out at the side bald. /XXC/ These garments, if simple pieces of cloth may be called such, are made by the Jivaros from home-grown cotton and are all dyed the same dark-brown. The fabric is very firm and tight; the value of a piece is great, since it takes a woman a long time to make one with the primitive weaving apparatus. The very vain Indians make up for the lack of clothing by painting themselves. The face is decorated with diagonal lines, often with indentations, in red and black colors, chest and lower body with black designs, usually rectangles or simple lines. Occasionally one finds a hand provided with continuous decorations and extending diagonally across the chest, the making of which, seemingly laborious, is done in the simplest manner. For it one uses a wooden cylinder two and a half inches long and half an inch thick, on which the design is deeply carved. The depressions are filled with a dye mixed with hard fat, and the cylinder is then rolled over the naked body, under firm pressure with the hand. The designs on the body, the execution of which requires a longer time, are put on with a plant juice which gradually becomes black; the color lasts for eight to ten days and defies even energetic attempts to wash it off. On the other hand, the red lines must be renewed constantly, and for this purpose every Indian carries with him a small box with dye and the proper brushes in a nicely plaited bag. In the same bag a comb elegantly put together out of long spines and a small piece of mirror are never lacking. Mirrors, along with iron implements, are the most valuable property. If one presents an Indian with a mirror, no matter how small, he will immediately break it in order to distribute the pieces among his wives or give them to his acquaintances. Men as well as women usually wear one or more little rods of cane in the pierced ear-lobes, and the women, moreover, wear under the lower lip, in an opening which looks like a needle hole, a toothpick-like peg (tacuri) projecting horizontally, for which sewing needles are

preferably used.

/37/ cont./

preferably used. In addition there are neck and arm bands, in part made with great effort out of plant seeds, out of pieces of shell, each of which must be bored separately, or out of European porcelain beads; even the men do not scorn this ornamentation completely.

Armed and proud, the Jivaro moves in the consciousness of his freedom. The naked, well-proportioned forms of the men are handsome; the women, on the other hand, are small and heavy-set, but good-natured and at most seductive in their earliest youth, but with advancing age terribly ugly, and all the more so as they are then less modest and expose their bodies, disfigured by hard labor, more to the eye. The color of the well-tended skin is a light red-brown for all, as is peculiar to the Indians of the highlands. This difference is often ascribed to mixture with the women abducted during the destruction of the Spanish cities, /38/ but the dirtiness of the Quechua Indians may play a not unimportant role in this. The facial expression is usually good-natured and intelligent. The wives were always treated with kindness, their advice sought in almost all negotiations, and the children are allowed to do what they please. I say wives, for seldom does a Jivaro connect himself with one person for life; he has two, three, or four and cannot understand at all that his polygamy is unlawful, since he takes care of his wives and children, whereas the monolatric Christian preachers all too gladly shun these duties. Sometimes several women with their children live in one and the same house; sometimes the lord and master has several houses far from one another and has his wife or wives in each of them. The bond of marriage is kept holy; in the case of adultery the husband has the right to kill his wife. The institution of polygyny, no matter how reprehensible it may be from our standpoint, surely is justified under the conditions that we find among the Jivaro. In the case of a wandering, warlike people which frequently changes residence and in which the individual tribes, indeed, even the individual families, live in war and conflict, the men must always be ready to defend his person and his property. He must practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt.

726 /334 cont./
411 right hand, held close to the tip. By a slight, regular move-
719 ment of the right arm the long shaft, held horizontally, /335/
is set to swinging vertically in order to give the weapon steadi-
ness and force when it is suddenly thrust forward. Shield pressed
to shield, they fight man to man amidst loud war cries; each
tries to protect himself; each tries to discover a weakness of the
opponent, without overly exposing himself to the stones thrown
by the women and children. If a lance thrust hits its mark and
the enemy is wounded and turns to flight, the shield is thrown
726 away, for now it is a matter of getting the head. For this
302 reason the men wear long hair. The courageous warrior offers
(559 his conqueror the possibility of grabbing him by the hair. Long
711) hair is therefore considered the mark of the warrior, of the
free man; women, children, and the few war captives must
727 cut their hair. If a head is captured, it is brought in triumph
796) to the house, where the trophy undergoes proper preparation.
This is an important religious ceremony. The skin of the head
is taken off, eyes and mouth are sewed up; hot stones are put
in the sack of skin thus obtained, by means of which the skin
dries out and shrinks; smaller and smaller hot stones are used,
until the head, completely dried, is reduced to the size of a fist.
784 Such preparation, which the happy possessor must perform him-
269 self, is said to take eight days. During this entire time he may
use his hands for no other work and he must be fed like a child.

Once the trophy is ready, a great festival is arranged,
727 for which a special festival hall is erected; all the friends and
796 acquaintances help with the construction and bring hospitality
273 gifts. The principal thing is the preparation of the intoxicating
574 drink from the yuca root in order to spend days in senseless
931 drunkenness. The yuca is chewed by the women and left in large
containers to ferment. The drink thus obtained has a pleasant
taste at first, between almond milk and lemonade, but becomes
strong and intoxicating with increasing fermentation.

727 Friends from far and near gather for the festival, adorned
796 with bright feathers, with long earrings fashioned out of the shiny
237 wing coverings of large beetles, with prettily plaited hats or,
301

727 335 cont.
796 better, forehead bands (tendemas), with neck and arm bands made
237 of the teeth of monkeys and wild animals. The women wear
301 richly decorated bindings around their hips, on the fringes of
534 which are fastened rattles and clappers so that a loud noise is
535 produced during the stamping dances. A weapons dance is performed, during which all the available zanzas, this is the name of the trophy heads, are paraded in triumph. The enthusiasm aroused by dancing, music, and drink is said to reach such a pitch that the weapons dance frequently ends in bloody seriousness.

345 When the supplies are gone and the intoxication slept
350 off, the house built for the festival is deserted and left to decay -- unless after some time another family moves in and undertakes the repairs.

/336/ A house must be deserted after a death, just as
768 after such a festival. In order to be relieved of the inconvenience
763 of moving and probably also out of superstitious fear of the dying, hopelessly ill people are ruthlessly exposed in the forest. A
242 small hut of branches is built for them, some food is put nearby, and they are left to their fate.

781 If a war expedition is to be undertaken or if an important
223 decision is to be made, the higher powers are called upon, and
216 their suggestions are decisive. The Jívaro retires to the solitude of the forest, intoxicates himself on an infusion of poisonous lianas, and then considers the outcome of his deep dreams as a command of the gods. For this ceremony a prominent point is chosen, from which one looks down on the Sangay, which seems to play an important role in the religious beliefs of these Indians. And how could this surprise anyone, given the terribly beautiful
133 spectacle presented by the black, barren, and open cone set upon the highest ridges. The volcano, 5,323 meters high, is continuously active, like Stromboli. Thick black clouds of ashes are spewed out with a thunder-like noise, accompanied at night by the most magnificent sheets of fire. From the highest peak to the forest region a brilliantly glowing strip of fire moves down the slope, rolling along like a stream of molten metal. Masses

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

poses a problem for Indians engaged in collecting a specific kind of wild fruit or hunting a particular species of game. This situation is aggravated for the hunter by the fact that virtually all of the Jívaro territory has been hunted efficiently for a long period of time, with the result that game is not as abundant as in regions unoccupied by the Indians. This fact was particularly driven home to my Jívaro companions and me in 1969, when, in traveling through an unhunted "no-man's-land" between the Jívaro and the Achuara along the lower Río Cangaimi, which had not been exploited because of the enmity between the two groups, we encountered unprecedented quantities of monkeys and birds.

The Jívaro, under the circumstances, do not normally find collecting a very rewarding activity, and, in hunting, they cannot afford the luxury of specializing in a few large game animals, such as might be possible in some other environments. The blowgun, suitable for hunting game ranging from small birds to large monkeys, therefore, becomes a very important food-securing weapon.

Mammals especially important to subsistence include peccary, agouti, and such monkeys as howler, squirrel, capuchin, and black. Peccary and monkey are valued for both their skins and flesh, while the agouti and armadillo are utilized generally for the meat alone. Most species of birds, except for carrion-eaters, are hunted almost daily as sources of food and for their plumage. Birds most often killed include species of parrot, toucan, dove, and curassow. Both the large and small species of toucan are particularly prized for their pelts and feathers; jaguar, ocelot and other feline species are commonly hunted for their skins (see Plate 9). Rabbits and deer, although present, are never hunted for food, the former because they are "like rats," the latter for supernatural reasons (see p. 150).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

865 boys perform most of the tasks of their fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 [825] When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 292 301 • [237] [721] With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a

884 [721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

[582]

881 884 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.

[824] [276] [787] The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration

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12. Man wearing an *etsemat* (woven cotton band with toucan feather tassels), the most common traditional head garb (Río Cangaimi, 1956–57).

13. Profile of the same individual.

/p. 138-A/

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The now universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 291 439 287 come less common than in former times, this change also being attributed to the growing supply of clothing and cloth obtained through trading partners.

178 291 301 237 439 Feather headdresses and bird skins are prepared in larger quantities than in previous decades, a trend ascribed to the increasing demand for these items for trade to the frontier Jívaro in exchange for firearms and machetes. Featherwork of Achuara origin is also more plentiful, and some of it is traded on to the frontier Jívaro in the west.

178 105 In summation, it can be said that the technological introductions, especially steel cutting tools and firearms, have become the most desired valuables among the interior Jívaro because of their great efficiency compared to the aboriginal equivalents. They have been put to the same basic exchange uses as traditional Jívaro valuables such as featherwork, i.e., they have been used as gifts to acquire services and reinforce obligations. However, the great demand for these new, highly valued goods has made them more significant instruments for attaining social ends, and the creative changes which have occurred in the culture following these introductions appear to be primarily connected to the acquisition, accumulation and distribution of the new items as valuables. Such developments have included the rise of intra- and inter-tribal trading partnerships, the growth in numbers of shamans, and the creation of intra- and inter-tribal shaman hierarchies. Through these developments, the technological introductions also may have indirectly contributed to the decline in inter-tribal warfare and to the reported increase in intra-tribal witchcraft and feuding. The total effect of the new technology on food production seems quite uncertain, with wild-plant gathering, pig-raising, and agriculture apparently showing declines, the latter two since at least about 1925.